Higher learning, the state, and the professions in Russia

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The enormously complex relationship between higher learning and the professions in Russia from 1860 to 1930 has three major components: (1) the higher educational institutions that trained the professionals; (2) the numbers, organizations, attitudes and competence of these professionals, and (3) the centralized bureaucratic Tsarist and Soviet governments that sought to determine the characteristics of the students who were educated and whom they later employed as civil or military servants. An explanation of the interdependencies of these three facets is complicated by the fact that the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 prevents the study of these relationships as an unbroken line. While the dominant role played by the central government before and after 1917 is similar, higher educational institutions played a dissimilar role, because other avenues to the professions were opened.

The historically close relationship between the government and the professions has influenced the terms Russians used, and still use, to describe professions. The mixture of Western adjectives, derived from the name of the profession, to modify the uniquely Russian noun denoting a special legal group (e.g., *meditsinskoe soslovie*) gave way after 1917 to a new official division of Soviet society into three "friendly" classes such as the agricultural population, the "proletariat," and the "intelligentsia," a category that includes everyone not within one of the first two groups. All the professions are included in the third "class" and are engaged in "intellectual labor."[1]

Before 1917 the most common word used to denote a social group with a special legal status was the word *soslovie*. By 1860 several strata had acquired this distinc-

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1. For *soslovie,* see note 2, below. For the Soviet use of "three friendly classes," see "Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to Its Party Organizations at All Levels and to All Its Party Members, July 14, 1963," *Peking Review,* July 26, 1963, 38-39. For "intellectual labor," see V. R. Leikina-Svirskaia, *Intelligentsiia v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka* (Moscow, 1971), 70.

tion: the hereditary gentry; personal gentry (those who were promoted to gentry status for service in the civil or military bureaucracy); distinguished citizens; merchants; artisans ("petty bourgeoisie" is the standard Soviet translation); peasants (divided into various categories); clergy, divided into "white" and "black" for priests and monks, respectively, and others. Each of these groups had various privileges, statuses, and rights according to government legislation. For instance, Russian directories compiled before 1917 traditionally had the *soslovie,* or title (lawyer, doctor, etc.), of each person attached to the name. Graduation from a higher institution, therefore, offered not only substantive access to positions and salaries, but had also high visibility in Russian society.[2]

From the 1860s on some professionals sought recognition, protection and advancement of their occupation through having it recognized as a corporative *soslovie.* As a part of the legal reform of November 20, 1864, lawyers acquired such a privileged status under the title "sworn attorneys."[3] Subsequently, other Russians of note pleaded in vain for the creation of a medical *soslovie* for doctors, even after physicians had already begun to refer to themselves as such.[4]

At the same time that the Russians sought terms in their own language, they also borrowed heavily from West European languages. At the first level of distinction in higher learning, they divided higher educational institutions into two types: university *(universitetskoe)* and special *(spetsial'noe)* higher education.[5] The universities were assigned the role of theoretical and research-oriented training (for which the

2. For the origin and use of the term soslovie, see Sergei G. Pushkarev, compiler, *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms from the Eleventh Century to 1917,* George Vernadsky and Ralph T. Fisher, Jr., eds. (New Haven, 1970), 137-39; N. Lazarevskii, "Sosloviia," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar* (Brockhaus-Efron), 60: 911-13. The term was also used more loosely to describe "a group of people with a common occupation," although the group might not have a legal, corporate status. *Slovar sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka,* Vol. 14 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1963), columns 358-9.
3. M. T., "Prisiazhnye poverennye," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 49: 261-62. See Samuel Kucherov, *Courts, Lawyers, and Trials Under the Last Three Tsars* (New York, 1953), 127-28 for a brief explanation of the structure of this body.
4. Lazarevskii, "Sosloviia," 913. A doctor wrote to the editor of *Meditsinskii vestnik (Medical Herald),* referring to the medical profession as "our *soslovie,*" for instance, in 1885. Cited by Nancy Frieden in *The Russian Physician, 1856-1905: Professional, Reformer, Radical* (Princeton, 1981), Chapter 5.
5. Government statisticians always collected and published data on Russian education in these separate categories. The results of the educational censuses of March 20, 1880, for instance were printed in separate volumes for the university-gymnasium category and the "special educational institutions." For the universities, two volumes: A. V. Dubrovskii, *Universitety i srednie uchebnye zavedeniia muzhskie i zhenskie v 50-ti guberniiakh Evropeiskoi Rossii i 10-ti guberniiakh Privislianskikh po perepisi 20-go marta 1880 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1888) as *Vremennik Tsentral'nogo komiteta,* Vypusk 1, and A. V. Dubrovskii, same title, St. Petersburg, 1888, as *Statistika rossiiskoi imperii,* Vypusk 3. The data on the special educational institutions were presented in one volume: A. V. Dubrovskii, *Spetsial'nye uchebnye zavedeniia muzhskie i zhenskie v 50-ti guberniiakh Evropeiskoi Rossii i 10-ti guberniiakh Privislianskikh po perepisi 20-go marta 1880 goda.* (St. Petersburg, 1890) as *Statistika rossiiskoi imperii,* Vypusk 8.

Russians had their own term, *nauchnoe*), while the special higher institutions were for teaching more practical skills (the Russians borrowed the word *prakticheskoe*).

The word "profession" *(professiia)* had also made its way from the West into the most extensive and authoritative Russian dictionary by the 1880s, but not as a separate entry. The compiler included the term as merely one in a group of seven words under the main entry, "professor." A profession was defined as "a trade, any *soslovie's* occupation."[6] Under the heading "practices," a word Russians frequently added in parentheses after the term "professions," the same dictionary listed "medical" and "naval" as examples.[7]

As the statement in the guidebooks distinguishing between university and special institutes and the titles of works published before 1917 indicate, the term "profession" and its derivatives were in rather widespread use in Russia by 1917. But the inclusion of "practices" in parentheses after "professions" by the Ministry of Education illustrates that neither of the two terms had been adopted as the clear indicator of persons engaged in the professions before the Revolution.[8] It is therefore necessary to ask: How did the three dimensions of the relationship of higher learning and the professions in Russia interact in practice?

Higher Educational Institutions:

A variety of types of higher educational institutions transmitted higher learning in Russia from 1860 to 1917: universities, academies, institutes, lyceums, "schools," "higher courses," "special courses" and still others with uniquely Russian names. By 1860 the government had already established a major distinction between two basic types into which it grouped the many institutions and courses with their various titles. The first group of institutions, which was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, was composed of the eight "Imperial" universities of Russia and Poland (Warsaw University was created in 1869).[9] The second group of institutions was the higher special institutes within the ministries of the Tsarist government. The purpose in founding and maintaining these special institutes was the training of specialists in the area of applied knowledge.

The most elaborate distinction set forth in print was the Ministry of Education's statement on "The Tasks of the Universities," included in all guidebooks to Russian higher education in 1915:

> The goal of the universities is to give young people a scientific *(nauchnoe)* education. The universities do not prepare people for practical work, with the exception of the faculties of medicine. They do not graduate teachers, lawyers, judges, or civil servants *(chinovniki);* rather, they grad-

6. Vladimir Dal, *Tolkovyi slovar zhivogo velikorusskago iazyka.* III (St. Petersburg, 1882), 523.
7. Dal, 381.
8. See "The Tasks of the Universities" quoted below.
9. The ninth university was in Helsinki, which was not included in educational statistics before the 20th century, because Finland was administered separately. Cf also, *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 15: 291–92 for data on Helsinki University.

uate people who, having received a legal, mathematical, philological or other type of education, and who, having devoted themselves to activities befitting the education they received, will quickly orient themselves in their fields and be capable of utilizing for practical activities the theoretical knowledge they have acquired. The university is a scientific and—in conjunction with that—an educational institution.[10]

Though training in effect professionals, the faculties within the universities were "substantially different" from the specialties represented by a "higher professional school." The special institutes had as their major tasks

giving their students such information and skills as are virtually essential for future workers before entering a particular profession (practice—jurist, engineer, technician, teacher, etc.). The university pursues goals of a purely scientific and general educational character in every branch of science, without regard for or adaptation to the choice of this or that profession its students have made for their future practical life.[11]

The author's concerted effort to make such a clear distinction might well be a result, in part, of the fact that training for the professions had gained such considerable popularity by 1915 that the author felt compelled to defend the theoretical courses of the universities against increasing criticism from practically oriented critics.[12] Nevertheless, the normative description of the differences masks the difficulty of identifying the distinction in practice. The government's own statement exempted medical faculties from the characterization, and the student body of universities with medical schools sometimes included one-half to two-thirds medical students. Conversely, engineering institute graduates constantly complained that their training was so theoretical that they could not apply it when they directed construction projects.[13].

The diversification of types of institutions, the attention of revolutionaries and liberals to the plight of the masses, and the desire of industrialists and bureaucrats in certain ministries for better trained workers and specialists led to the emergence of a broadly based group of advocates for forms of education other than university courses: technical, commercial, industrial and other training. These critics did not seek so much to combat the favorable stereotype of the university as to raise the image of the other types of education dispensed by new institutional types. They also sought and won symbols of status for graduates from those special institutions. Special medallions, uniforms, and civil service ranks were bestowed upon graduates with specific titles from specific institutions to make them visibly unique in public. These adherents formed promotional societies, conducted special studies of advanced tech-

10. D. Margolin, *Spravochnik po vysshemy obrazovaniiu,* 3-oe izdanie (Petrograd, 1915), 35–36; V. I. Vorontintsev, *Polnyi sbornik pravil priema i programm vysshikh, srednykh i nizshikh, obshcheobrazovatel'nykh, spetsial'nykh i professional'nykh uchebnykh zavedenii Rossii, muzhskikh i zhenskikh, pravitel'stvennykh i chastnykh,* 4-oe izdanie (Petrograd, 1915), 44–46.
11. *Ibid.*
12. See *Severnyi vestnik,* 1896, No. 8, for a discussion of "industrial education"; N. Kareev, *Vybor fakulteta: Rukovodstvo dlia uchenikov vysshikh klassov sredneuchebnykh zavedenii,* 3-oe izdanie (St. Petersburg, 1905); Sergei Timoshenko, *As I Remember* (Princeton, 1968), 24–29.
13. Timoshenko, 32.

Table 1: Distribution of University Students by Faculty, 1872

Name of university	Theology	Hist/Philology	Law	Nat. Sci/Math	Medicine	Eastern langs.	Total	Auditors	Total
	Students								
Petersburg	-	99	764	305	-	42	1,210	86	1,296
Moscow	-	97	588	136	532	-	1,353	44	1,397
Khar'kov	-	22	211	56	159	-	448	76	524
Odessa . . .	-	37	240	88	-	-	365	46	411
Kazan . . .	-	61	239	62	169	-	531	56	537
Kiev . . .	-	82	253	59	449	-	843	62	905
Dorpat . . .	87	75	189	91	244	-	686	6	692
Warsaw . . .	-	34	236	87	322	-	679	47	726
Totals	87	507	2,720	884	1,875	42	6,115	423	6,538

Source: A. V. Dubrovskii, Svedeniia po statistike narodnago obrazovaniia v Evropeiskoi Rossii, 1872-1874 (St. Petersburg, 1879), 40.

nical schools in Western Europe and the United States,[14] and one such group set up its own system of schools for technical education.[15]

In some areas the universities and the higher special institutes shared in training professionals; in other areas the special institutes had a monopoly, and in the area of the natural sciences the universities had a monopoly. What were the numbers and types of specializations that higher educational institutions afforded in Russia in the 1870s compared with 1915?

The size and distribution of subject faculties among Russian universities can be determined in 1872, the first year an educational census was taken (Table I). The total possible at any institution was seven, if mathematics and the natural sciences (which are combined in government figures) are counted separately. None of the eight uni-

14. V. A. Kind, *Puti i formy rasprostraneniia professional'nykh znanii* (Petrograd, 1916); "Obshchestva," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 42: 611; Ministerstvo narodnago prosveshcheniia, *Ocherk razvitiia promyshlennago obrazovaniia v Rossii za 1888-1898 g.g.* (St. Petersburg, 1900), 1-13; "Professional'noe obrazovanie," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 50: 563-74.

15. The Imperial Russian Technical Society published a list of the schools it had founded and placed under the jurisdiction of Tsarist government. For instance, *Uchilishcha Imperatorskago russkago tekhnicheskago obshchestva: Spravochnaia kniga Postoiannoi kommissii po tekhnicheskomy obrazovaniiu za 1888/89 uchebnyi god* (St. Petersburg, 1889).

Table 2: Distribution of University Students by Faculty, 1880

University (date founded)	Hist/ phil-ology	% of that univ.	Nat Sci/ Math	% of that univ.	Law	% of that univ.	Med.	% of that univ.	Total enroll-ment
St. Petersburg (1819). .	246 (26.9)	15	758 (46.4)	46	641 (35.0)	39	0 (0)	0	1,645 (99.6)*
Moscow (1755)	146 (16.0)	7	253 (15.3)	13	329 (18.0)	18	1,162 (31.3)	62	1,890 (100)
Khar'kov (1805)	65 (7.3)	10	106 (6.7)	17	105 (5.8)	16	361 (10.1)	57	637 (100)
Odessa (1865)	90 (9.8)	26	146 (9.0)	42	109 (6.0)	32	0 (0)	0	345 (100)
Kazan (1804)	70 (7.7)	10	72 (4.4)	10	88 (4.8)	12	476 (12.9)	68	706 (100)
Kiev (1834)	97 (11.2)	9	131 (6.4)	13	147 (8.0)	14	666 (19.2)	64	1,041 (100)
Dorpat (1802) . . . . . (Iuriev after 1892)	151 (17.7)	16	78 (5.1)	8	212 (11.6)	22	525 (13.8)	54	966* (98.4)
Warsaw (1869)	32 (3.4)	5	107 (6.7)	16	198 (10.8)	31	309 (12.7)	48	646 (100)
Totals	897 (100)		1,714 (100)		1,831 (100)		3,499 (100)		7,876*

Source: Leikina-Svirskaia, Intelligentsiia v Rossii, 58.

*Excluded from this table are approximately 30 students in Eastern Languages Faculty of St. Petersburg University and 130 students in theology at Dorpat University.

versities added a faculty before 1917, but some created institutes, special centers *(kabinety),* clinics, laboratories, or other entities to allow for specialization. Most of the adaptations occurred at Moscow University.[16] No university in the Russian Empire had all seven faculties. Closest to that number were Dorpat and Helsinki with the only schools of theology, but both lacked a faculty of Eastern languages; St. Petersburg had the only faculty of Eastern languages, but it had no medical faculty; Odessa lacked a medical faculty until 1900. Every university of the original eight had history/philology, law and mathematics/natural sciences faculties. In sum, the original eight universities contained six medical faculties; eight law faculties; eight history/philology faculties; eight mathematics/natural sciences faculties; one theology faculty, and one faculty of Eastern languages.

Since two universities had no medical faculties, and since nearly one-third of the students were studying medicine in the late 1870s and early 1880s, Russia's six universities with medical faculties were primarily medical schools (Table II). Of those six universities, even Warsaw, with the smallest enrollment in the medical faculty, had 48% of its students studying medicine. Moscow University's medical faculty with 1,162 students, 62% of the student body, was nearly twice as large as the second largest medical faculty, 666 at Kiev. Those two universities trained over one-half of the medical profession—31.3% at Moscow alone (Table II).

Despite the emphasis which the Tsarist bureaucracy placed upon producing doctors, the regime used the universities first of all to train lawyers (Table III). A five-year interval sample from 1865 through 1899 and for 1912 shows an average of 37.9% of the student body studying law. Medicine ranked second with 33.1%; mathematics/physical sciences third with 21.1%, and history/philology fourth with an average of 7.9%. Combined, law and medicine enrolled some 71% of all students trained in Russian universities from 1865 to 1912. Whatever their rhetoric, Russian universities were in effect legal and medical professional schools.

The 1880 census also collected data on special educational institutions.[17] These figures reveal a total of 3561 special institutions with 44,572 male students. Among those institutions, the compiler called 34 (less than 10%) "higher," but provided neither the criteria used to distinguish them from other levels, nor did he divide students into groups attending higher or other levels of institutions (Table IV).[18]

The special educational institutions offered seven areas not covered by universities: training for the clergy, military/naval, surveying, agriculture/forestry, technology (mainly engineering), commerce and the arts. In four areas specialists were trained both by the universities and the higher special institutions: teaching (such as

16. In 1895, Moscow University had 15 special centers (kabinety) for such specializations as fine arts and antiquities, geology, agronomy, forensic medicine, histology; an astronomical observatory, eight laboratories, seven medical clinics, four "barracks" for treating children's diseases, three hospitals, three medical institutes, a botanic garden, and four museums. *Uchebnyia zavedeniia vedomstva ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia* (St. Petersburg, 1895), 11-12.
17. The data, except for those in the column on "higher" institutions, are in Dubrovskii, *Spetsial'nye uchebnye zavedeniia ... 20-go marta 1880 g.,* XXX-XXXI.
18. Dubrovskii, X-XI.

Table 3: Distribution of Students by Specialization in Russian Universities 1865-1912 in Percent

	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1899	1912	1865-1912
History-Philology	6.5	8.0	9.2	11.3	10.0	6.0	5.1	4.1	10.4	7.9
Natural Sciences/ Mathematics	24.0	17.7	16.8	21.6	20.4	20.1	20.5	23.0	26.0	21.1
Law	48.6	51.2	34.7	23.0	30.5	33.7	37.0	43.0	39.1	37.9
Medicine	20.9	23.1	39.3	44.1	39.1	40.2	37.4	29.9	24.5	33.1
Absolute numbers	4,014	5,951*	5,381	7,941	12,033	12,098	13,797	16,703	38,713	

*Without data from Kazan University

Source: V. R. Leikina-Svirskaia, Intelligentsiia v Rossii, 58-59; Margolin, Spravochnik po vysshemy obrazovaniiu, 9.

history/philology), medicine, law and Eastern languages. The universities had a monopoly in higher level mathematics and the natural sciences, although those two subjects were included at some minimum level in the engineering institutes.

Excluding the four veterinary institutes that the government traditionally listed among them, Russia had only one medical school outside the universities which was considered a "higher" institution: the Military-Medical Academy. Called the Military-Surgical Academy until 1896, it was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of War and trained army doctors, pharmacists and veterinarians. In the areas of law and Eastern languages, all the special institutions were rated "higher," while only two of the 76 schools training teachers were considered "higher."

Special education for women was largely undeveloped in 1880. Institutions for them existed in only three of the twelve categories: teaching, medicine (mainly midwifery), and the arts. None of those 41 institutions (with 2,840 students) was "higher."[19] Women were, of course, excluded from pursuing degrees in Russian universities throughout the Tsarist period.

Professional Training in Law, Medicine and Engineering:

Student numbers in university faculties can be combined with the corresponding figures for the higher special institutions (except for teacher training where the latter are missing). Their distribution sheds light on the relative importance of the two types of institutions in training a given profession in Russia, and, where data allow, on the contribution of each institution to the total profession. What was the role of the various institutions for the selected professions of law and medicine, and for engineering where the special institutes had a monopoly?

19. Dubrovskii, IL.

Table 4: Special Educational Institutions for Males, 1880

	category	institutions (% total)	"higher" (% total)	students (% total)	teachers (% total)	names of higher ed. institutions
1	parochial	63 (17.5)	5 (15)	13,670 (30.7)	951 (25.1)	Russian Orthodox Academies in SPB, Moscow, Kazan, Kiev; Roman Catholic Academy in SPB
2	pedagogic	76 (21.1)	2 (6)	5,033 (11.3)	509 (13.8)	Historico-Philological Institute in SPB; Historico-Philological Institute in Nezhin
3	medical	36 (10.0)	5 (15)	4,155 (9.3)	352 (9.6)	4 Veterinary Institutes in Khar'kov, Kazan, Dorpat, Warsaw; Military-Medical Academy
4	law and canon law	3 (.09)	3 (9)	658 (1.5)	35 (1.0)	Demidov Law Lyceum in Iaroslavl; Institute of Jurisprudence in SPB; Alexander Lyceum in SPB
5	military	29 (8.0)	5 (15)	6,140 (14)	500 (13.4)	Nicholas Academy of the General Staff; Nicholas Engineering Academy; Michael Artillery Academy; Academy of Military Law; Corps of Pages in SPB
6	naval	40 (11.1)	1 (.03)	1,764 (4.0)	183 (5.0)	Nicholas Naval Academy in SPB
7	surveying	8 (2.2)	1 (.03)	603 (1.4)	46 (1.2)	Konstantine Surveying Institute in Moscow
8	agricultural/ forestry	18 (5.0)	3 (9)	1,615 (3.6)	145 (3.9)	Forestry Institute in SPB; Petrov Agricultural and Forestry Academy near Moscow; New Alexandria Agricultural and Forestry Institute in Liublin province
9	technical/ handicrafts	69 (19.1)	6 (18)	7,794 (17.4)	642 (17.5)	Imperial Technical School in Moscow; Riga Polytechnical School; Technological Institute in SPB; Institute of the Ministry of Transportation in SPB; Institute of Civil Engineers in SPB; Mining Institute in SPB
10	commercial	4 (1.1)	1 (.03)	1,577 (3.5)	104 (2.8)	Practical Academy of Commercial Sciences in Moscow
11	Oriental languages	2 (.06)	2 (5)	33 (.01)	10 (.03)	Lazarevskii Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow; Academic Department of Oriental Languages in the Asian Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs
12	artistic	12 (2.4)	0 (0)	1,531 (3.4)	196 (5.3)	None
	Totals	361	34	44,572	3,673	34

In 1880 each of Russia's eight universities had a law faculty with a total enrollment of 1,831 students (23% of all university students). St. Petersburg University had the largest law school, with 641 students (35.8% of all Russian university law students), and Moscow University was second with only half as many students, i.e. 329 (18.2%). In addition three higher special institutions also prepared specialists in the legal profession: the Demidov Law Lyceum in Iaroslavl (under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education), the Alexander Lyceum in St. Petersburg (under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chancellery), and the Imperial Institution for the Study of Jurisprudence in St. Petersburg (under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice).[20] The enrollment of 658 in the three special law schools combined with the 1,831 university law students makes a total of 2,489 with 73.5% in universities and 26.5% in the special schools. Of the total number studying law in the Russian Empire, St. Petersburg University had slightly more than one of every four (25.7%). However, as its medical enrollment declined, Moscow University had by 1900 graduated approximately the same number of lawyers (6,523) as St. Petersburg (6,284) since 1856 and 1858, respectively.[21]

Among the special law schools, the Imperial Institution for the Study of Jurisprudence was the most prestigious for state service. Only sons of hereditary or personal gentry were admitted to the former, while the sons of those two *sosloviia* also dominated in the St. Petersburg university law faculty. If one had no contacts at Court and had to rely upon the educational institutions, the best route to state service in the 1860s and 1870s was through a one of the many classical gymnasia and then through the Imperial Institution for the Study of Jurisprudence or the Alexander Lyceum. Graduates of those two institutions entered state civil service at Rank IX. The next best path led, at the higher level, through the Demidov Law Lyceum or the law faculty of St. Petersburg University. The law faculty of one of the other universities was only a third choice. Of course, each law faculty had its own reputation among the eight universities, and its graduates entered state service at the same rank (X and XII) as those of the Demidov school (Table VI). However, St. Petersburg was the goal to which young gentry sons aspired and into which their fathers pushed them when intending a career in state civil service.[22]

Between 1880 and 1915, two additional law schools were created for men. Tomsk University added a law faculty in 1898, and the University Courses inside the Nicholas Lyceum (also known as Katkov Lyceum) in Moscow were elevated to the "higher" level in 1893.[23] Private citizens also created law schools during that same period—some for women—so that by 1915 Russia had a total of 16 law schools (excluding Finland), three of which were for women (Table V).

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20. *Spisok uchebnykh zavedenii vedomstva Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia za 1883/84 uchebnyii god* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 1; Margolin, *Spravochnik po vysshemy obrazovaniiu*, 85.
21. Leikina-Svirskaia, 77.
22. Walter M. Pintner, "The Social Characteristics of the Early Nineteenth-Century Russian Bureaucracy," *Slavic Review*, 29 (1970), 440, *n.* 19; Leikina-Svirskaia, 78; W. Pintner, "The Russian Higher Civil Service on the Eve of the 'Great Reforms,'" *Journal of Social History*, 8 (1975), 55-68; Richard Wortman, *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness* (Princeton, 1976), 38-50.
23. *Uchebnyiia zavedeniia vedomstva Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia, 1895*, 21; Margolin, *Spravochnik po vysshemy obrazovaniiu*, 85-89.

Table 5: Russian Higher Educational Institutions, 1915

categories of institutions (all arbitrarily listed here as "schools")	Men	Women	Coed	Totals
universities	11	-	1	12
nonuniversity higher educational institutions of a general nature	-	25	18	43
religious schools (7)				
Russian Orthodox	4	1	-	5
Armenian	1	-	-	1
Roman Catholic	1	-	-	1
law schools	4 [9]	3	-	7 [16]
historical-philological schools	7 [9]	5	2	14 [23]
veterinary schools	4	-	-	4
technical schools (including engineering)	15	6	11	32
agriculture and forestry schools	4	8	3	15
military schools (including engineering, military academies)	23	-	-	23
medical schools (including dental, pharmacy, feldsher schools)	1 [10]	14	14	20 [39]
music and fine arts schools	-	-	11	11
statistics courses and commercial schools	-	-	8	8
Totals	75	62	68	205

Sources: V. I. Vorontintsev, Polnyi sbornik pravil priema i programm vysshikh . . . uchebnykh zavedenii Rossii, 4-oe izd. (Petrograd, 1915); D. Margolin, Spravochnik po vysshemy obrazovaniiu (P-grd, 1915)

[ ] Indicates number of schools in the category that were within universities. In totals, represents the total in the category if schools in the category located within universities were added to those outside universities.

Of the total of 205, 55 were private; 54 were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education; the remainder (96) were under the jurisdiction of other government agencies.

If departments within universities were included in the total, the number would be approximately the same, for every university, except St. Petersburg had a medical school. Every university had a law school. Two universities had no history-philology department.

The Soviet scholar V. R. Leikina-Svirskaia has calculated that between approximately 1856 and 1900, Russia's eight university law faculties graduated some 23,576 lawyers.[24] Adding an estimated number that received degrees in the special law schools, produces a figure of some 30,000 law degrees granted by Russian higher educational institutions from 1856 to 1900. The universities dominated numerically 78.6% to 21.4% but ranked second qualitatively in the government's preference for civil servants. The actual number of practitioners (subtracting deaths of degree-holders, adding numbers who obtained degrees abroad, and so forth) at any date is very difficult to determine. M. Ostrogorskii tried to include everyone practicing law in his *Judical List (Iuridicheskii kalendar)* for 1914, but the numbers of 5,658 lawyers and 5,489 lawyers-in-training are surely too low.[25]

With the addition of the medical faculty at Tomsk University in 1888, at Odessa University in 1900 and at Saratov University in 1909, Russia had nine university medical faculties at its ten universities and one special, non-university medical school (the Military-Medical Academy) by 1915.[26] All enrolled only men. Some fourteen medical schools (including dental, pharmacy and *feldsher* schools) were founded for women between 1880 and 1915, mostly by private initiative, and women could enroll in an additional fourteen schools that were coeducational (Table V). By 1915 Russia had approximately 38 medical schools, including the universities, that were considered "higher" educational institutions.

From 1856 to 1900 the university medical faculties graduated approximetely 21,873 male medical specialists (doctors and pharmacists), some 80.8% of the total. The Military-Medical Academy produced some 5,200 male medical specialists (doctors, pharmacists and veterinarians) or 19.2% of the total. If one excludes veterinarians from the Academy's total, the share of specialists in human medicine who graduated from the university medical faculties would be closer to 90%. Moscow University graduated 8,100 doctors, or more than 37% of all university medical degrees. If veterinary degrees granted by the Military-Medical Academy are included, Moscow University still accounted for nearly one of every three medical specialists trained in the Russian Empire.[27]

The number of physicians practicing in a given year is difficult to determine. The census of 1897 listed some 17,000 doctors.[28] *The Russian Medical List* for 1916 listed some 33,382 practicing doctors (28,366 male, 5,016 female), 8,524 veterinarians (5,705 "with the right to practice," 2,819 "county" and "city" veterinarians), 7,772 dentists, and 6,564 pharmacists.[29]

Despite numerous entreaties to admit women to medical schools during the last 60 years of Imperial Russia, the government refused to open the universities or the Mili-

24. Leikina-Svirskaia, 77–78.
25. M. Ostrogorskii, *Iuridicheskii kalendar* (Petrograd, 1914), 501.
26. Leikina-Svirskaia, 136.
27. Calculations are based on numbers in Leikina-Svirskaia, 141.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Rossiiskii meditsinskii spisok, izdannyi Upravleniem glavnago vrachebnago inspektora M. V. Del, Na 1916 god.* (Petrograd, 1916). My calculations are approximate, found by ascertaining the average number of names per page and multiplying by the number of pages. The list of doctors, for instance, fills 668 pages.

tary-Medical Academy to them except for a brief period in which the latter taught midwifery.[30] In the 1870s and 1880s many Russian women were forced to go to Western Europe to study medicine, but in the 1890s many private medical schools were opened for them in Russia. Although the Ministry of Public Education had nominal jurisdiction, that agency provided little or no funding except for salaries of required officials. Private donors, including zemstvos and city dumas, maintained these institutions throughout the Tsarist period. In 1888 the government allowed women to become pharmacists with the title of "assistant pharmacist." In 1897 those who completed the course at the Women's Medical Institute in St. Petersburg received the title "woman-doctor," and the right to practice medicine and work in the medical civil service. However, women were denied the civil service rights afforded to men with the same job.[31] After 1900, the graduates of the Women's Medical Institute received the same title and rights as male graduates of the medical faculties of the universities and the Military-Medical Academy. Those who had earned their degrees abroad at a school equal in quality to the Women's Medical Institute in St. Petersburg could convert them into the Russian title of graduate of that institute. Nevertheless, women still could not hold any rank in the Table of Ranks.[32]

The special educational institutions had a monopoly on training engineers, although, of course, a university-educated chemist or other natural scientist could seek employment as an engineer if he wished. Engineers were trained in only six higher educational institutions in 1880 (Table IV). Numbers and types of institutions expanded very rapidly from 1880 to 1915 so that by World War One Russia had 32 higher technical institutions (Table V). Of the approximately 85,000 persons who received academic degrees from 1860 to 1900, some 16,750 (19.7%) were graduates of technical institutes.[33] Whereas no technical institution had been open to women in 1880, six were for women in 1915, and eleven others were coeducational, but, fifteen of the most prestigious were still closed to females. In addition to diversification of types and expansion of numbers within the technical category, the military/naval schools were also moving into new specializations. Besides schools of artillery, engineering and geography, the Ministry of War had founded a school of aviation in Sevastopol by 1915.[34]

Among the approximately 16,750 technical degrees granted by 1900, some 3,800 (23%) were agronomists and foresters; others were mainly various types of engineers in transportation, mining, civil and surveying; 256 were electrical engineers.[35] Enrollment increased dramatically in the technical institutes from 1900 to 1917 (Table 5 in Alston), and by the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia had approximately 15,000 practicing engineers.[36]

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30. Leikina-Svirskaia, 138–39.
31. *Ibid.*
32. N. G. Freiberg, *Vrachebno-sanitarnoe zakonodatel'stvo v Rossii,* 2-oe izd. (St. Petersburg, 1908), 74–77; Margolin, 281, 327–44.
33. Leikina-Svirskaia, 60–70 has the number of graduates.
34. Margolin, 279.
35. Leikina-Svirskaia, 69–70.
36. Kendall Bailes, *Technology and Society under Lenin and Stalin: Origins of the Soviet Technical Intelligentsia, 1917–1941* (Princeton, 1978), 22.

Throughout the period of 1860 to 1930, the Tsarist or Soviet government controlled access to the professions. It determined the number and types of higher educational institutions to be established; the numbers of students to be admitted and their distribution among the faculties; and the social origin, religious affiliation, political attitudes and gender of the future professionals. Through the Minister (later Kommissar) of Education, it determined the curriculum and examined the graduates who had completed their coursework. After certifying the students' competence, the government employed virtually all of them and ranked them in hierarchical order, depending upon academic degree—with allowances for social origin or political loyalty.

The first means for regulating access to the professions was the control over the institutions that trained the future professionals. Each university and institute was created by a separate Imperial charter that included detailed rules and regulations by which the institution had to be administered. The administrators and teachers were state employees with fixed positions in the civil service Table of Ranks. The government determined the total number of students to be admitted to a university or institute and fixed the entrance requirements. These prerequisites were so specific, and the number of secondary schools preparing students for the university so few that the government often listed individually the names of the gymnasia or special schools whose graduates were admitted to the university without examination. Other students could be admitted by passing special tests. Similar entrance requirements were established for the special institutes, but admission by examination was most common for the highly specialized engineering institutes.[37]

The Tsarist educational bureaucracy considered the universities the elite institutions among its educational system. It expected great scientific achievements from their students and faculties, but it feared at the same time that Western ideas would contaminate academics. In contrast, the officials were less afraid of the special institutes. The difference in emphasis upon the role of ideas and pure learning at the universities and upon applied knowledge in the institutes seems to have been the main reason for the distinction. Events proved the distinction unfounded, and the institutions equally threatening.

In 1863 the government revised the uniform internal administrative structure and set of rules for the seven universities then in existence. (Warsaw University was created six years later but also administered primarily along these lines.) While the University Statute of 1863 allowed for a good deal of autonomy for each university, it retained the principle of legislating for the universities as a group. That practice guided the revision of the statute in 1884 which reduced university autonomy. Under close government scrutiny, uniform regulations, and general government suspicion, the universities became less capable of change and less responsive to the needs of society. A specific faculty might be allowed some choice in how it taught a course, but

37. Vorontintsev and Margolin include the full details of requirements for admission to each institution listed. Admission to the Electrotechnical Institute of Emperor Alexander III was, for instance, by examination only, with specific prerequisites set for taking the test. Margolin, 191-93; Vorontintsev, 139-47.

the curriculum was prescribed by legislation, and the Ministry of Education appointed committees to examine students on the content of their coursework.

The government chose to meet social needs by adapting its special educational institutions or building new ones, not by adding new faculties to its universities. When it determined that it required electrical engineers, it created the Electrical Engineering Institute in 1891, offered lucrative stipends to its students, granted them greater military service exemptions than to university students, and offered high civil service rank to all who did well on the state examinations at the conclusion of their coursework in the institute.[38] Despite a very strong lobbying effort by the Moscow Agricultural Society to have an agronomy faculty created within the universities, the Tsarist education officials retained agronomy as merely one of the specialties within the faculty of physical sciences.[39] Even when private citiziens began a vigorous campaign to found higher special educational institutions from approximately 1885 to 1915, the government retained its right to examine the graduates and to determine their titles, and ranks, if any, should they enter civil service.[40]

Since the Ministry of Education or another ministry had the right to certify professionals, it kept that power out of the hands of the universities and professional organizations. The University Statute of 1863 had specified that the government would use the academic degree or title granted by the universities as its basis for determining the rank specialists would receive upon entry into state service.[41] But the University Statute of 1884 established a separate set of state examinations, conducted by an examining committee named by the Minister of Education, in addition to academic tests required for completing a university degree. University graduates who passed the state examinations would then receive Rank X or Rank XII upon entering state service, depending upon their performance on that state examination (Table VI).[42]

The special institutes continued to function upon the basis of their individual charters. Their graduates were also examined by a committee named by the Minister of Education or, in some cases when an institution was under the jurisdiction of another ministry, by the respective minister. In either case, the number of courses and areas of coursework included in the examination; the score required on each course test; and the exact titles earned by various numbers of points scored on the examination were all fixed by the institution's charter. When an institute graduate entered government service, his civil service rank was determined by the exact title which the

38. *Ibid.*
39. Moskovskoe Obshchestvo Sel'skago Khoziaistva. *Universitet i agronomiia: Sbornik statei i materialov,* Chast I (Moscow, 1916), 5–42 contains an account of the Moscow Agricultural Society's campaign to establish a separate agronomy faculty as well as of the conference held in Moscow in April 1915.
40. Vorontintsev lists the rights of graduates for each private higher educational institution on 393–97.
41. Paul Miliukov, "Universitety v Rossii," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 68: 793; G. I. Fedkin, *Pravovye voprosy organizatsii nauchnoi raboty v SSSR* (Moscow, 1958), 222.
42. "Obshchii Ustav Imperatorskikh Rossiiskikh Universitetov," *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii,* Sobranie 3-oe, Tom IV (1884) (St. Petersburg, 1887), 456; A man with a master's degree entered at Rank IX, with the degree of *doktor,* at Rank VIII, *ibid.*

Table 6: Civil Service Rank for Academic Degrees, 1915

RANK	UNIVERSITY	SPECIAL INSTITUTES
I		
II		
III		
IV		
V		
VI		
VII		
VIII	Doctor (Academic degree from any university)	Doctor (Academic degree from any spiritual academy)
IX	Master (Academic degree from any university)	Master (spiritual academy); [graduate with highest title (of 3)] (Imperial Alexander Lyceum; or Imperial Institution for Study of Jurisprudence)
X	All university graduates with diplomas of first quality Candidate (Warsaw and Iuriev Universities)	Engineers (11 types); Agronomists (3 types); Foresters (2 types); Veterinarian (1 type); Lawyers (2 types); Teacher (2 types); Economists (1 type); Medical specialists (2); Clergymen (1 type); Linguists (1 type)
XI		
XII	All university graduates with diplomas of second quality Students with certificates (Warsaw and Iuriev Universities)	Engineers and Technicians (12 types); Agronomists (2 types); Foresters (2 types); Lawyers (1 type); Economists/ Commercial specialists (1 type); Clergymen (1 type); All graduates of certain institutions not in Rank X
XIII		
XIV		Engineers and Technicians (3 types); Economists/Commercial specialists (1 type)

graduate received from the institute. It was, in turn, governed by his performance on the state examination.[43]

Hiring professionals was an important means by which the government could encourage or discourage growth or organization of an occupation. Employment meant not only making career opportunities available. Civil service also included handsome salaries and fringe benefits such as pensions, housing, the right to invest in mutual funds, as well as social status through the right to wear uniforms and medals, and the use of titles or military service exemptions.[44]

Because of the many advantages of state service, the institutions created by the Great Reforms (the zemstvos, city dumas, judicial institutions) and private enterprises sometimes could not compete with the Tsarist government for specialists except in salary. Recognizing this advantage and wishing to promote many of the activities of the zemstvos or city dumas (founding hospitals and pharmacies, hiring agronomists, veterinarians and others) and private enterprises (especially railroad companies), the Tsarist government extended civil service benefits to selected employees of those institutions and enterprises.[45] As a result the distinction between the "private" and "public" sector in Russian society was blurred. Many persons employed in private enterprises saw themselves as rendering a public service. That distinction never developed in Russia to the extent it did in the West, and the degree to which such a consciousness existed by 1917 diminished considerably when the Bolsheviks declared it "bourgeois," i.e., unacceptable.

In an attempt to adapt its antiquated civil service code to the growth of the professions, the Tsarist government added new columns filled with titles of the new professionals to the Table of Ranks (Table VI). The three columns of the original Table of Ranks (not shown in Table VI) are lists of German terms in use when Peter the Great borrowed them in 1722 to create the Table. The titles in columns added in the 19th century reflect borrowings from the West more than a century later. The Table of Ranks shown in Table VI reveals that, at least in rating the quality of its own employees, the Tsarist government ignored the distinction it set forth in the guidebooks to higher educational institutions in 1915 between the superior training provided in the universities and the practical education of the special institutes. It rated the "best" degree granted by the universities and the institutes evenly at Rank X, and it rated the second-best degree granted by each evenly at Rank XII.

The Professions:

Educated in government-founded and government-controlled institutions, certified as competent by government-appointed examining boards (after 1884), placed into hierarchies of academic degrees and civil service ranks by the examining boards, and primarily employed in government service, the professional in Tsarist Russia could not escape government tutelage after graduation. As a practicing professional, he could not gather with fellow practitioners to set standards of competence or professional ethics, or merely to engage in group discussions about ways to solve practical

43. Vorontintsev, 140-45.
44. "Sluzhba gosudarstvennaia," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 59: 441-42.
45. *Ibid.*

professional problems unless he received official permission for such a meeting. Once a permit was secured from the proper authority, the ministry had to approve the program of speakers and topics in advance.

Despite insistence upon superintending the acts of all its citizens, the Tsarist government approved charters for a large number of societies. In addition to allowing several private societies to form in the 1850s and early 1860s, the government permitted the founding of nearly 50 academic societies within higher educational institutions from 1863 to 1917. The University Statute of 1863 granted universities the right to create scholarly *(uchennye)* societies with membership open to university and non-university personnel. While restricting university autonomy in many ways, the new university statute of 1884 nonetheless continued this right to establish such associations.

By 1895 Russia's nine universities had founded 38 scholarly societies.[46] Moscow University had nine, St. Petersburg seven, Kazan six, Kiev five, Kharkov four, Warsaw three, Odessa two, and Dorpat and Tomsk one each. The 38 societies may be grouped into the following five categories:

twelve in history (including natural history), philology, archaeology, anthropology, ethnography (six universities had at least one of these societies);

four in law (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan and Kiev);

fourteen in mathematics and physical sciences (all universities had at least one of these societies);

seven in medicine (two each at Moscow and Kazan, and one each at Kiev, Warsaw, and Tomsk);

and one in art (at Warsaw).

Those Russian professionals who established corporate bodies resembling their counterparts in Western Europe utilized one or a combination of these government-approved academic societies as an organizing center for the profession. For instance medicine, law, and engineering used university and institute societies, with varying degrees of success, to form national associations.

Russian lawyers were the first group to attempt coordination at the national level. The Moscow Legal Society in Moscow University petitioned the Tsarist government for permission to convene "the first congress of Russian lawyers" in 1874 to initiate a series of periodic congresses of Russian lawyers. Intending to focus upon the theoretical problems of the legal profession, they modeled their congress and its program upon the congress of German lawyers, the *Deutsche Juristentag,* that had met since 1860 in various German cities and had published the proceedings in a multivolume series.[47] The Minister of Education approved this proposal merely as "an experiment," not as the first in a series of periodic events. He insisted upon a separate petition for each new meeting and the right to approve the content of each program in advance.[48]

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46. Compiled from *Uchebnyia zavedeniia vedomstva Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia za 1895* (St. Petersburg, 1895), 10–18.
47. *Pervyi s"ezd russkikh iuristov v Moskve v 1875 godu* (Moscow, 1882), i–iii.
48. *Pervyi s"ezd,* 2.

This Moscow Legal Society sought to unite lawyers and jurists (whom the Statute of November 20, 1864 had already formed into regional corporate bodies for each judical district) with law graduates working in the St. Petersburg bureaucracy and with university law professors and legal scholars throughout the country. The Moscow society requested that the ministers of education and justice invite their colleagues to attend the conference. On its own it sent personal letters of invitation to all Senators of the Cassation and Laws *(Sudebnyi)* Departments of the Governing Senate, chairmen of judical districts and circuit courts, procurators of the legal chambers and their assistants, procurators of the circuit courts, chairmen of the united chambers and provincial courts, provincial procurators, chairmen of the councils of "sworn attorneys" (the Russian bar), honorary members of the Judical Society, professors of law in Russian universities, famous Russian legal scholars, and legal officials of the government's higher administrative organs. Through Russian newspapers and other periodicals it also publicized the meeting as broadly as possible. The society petitioned the rector of Moscow University and the Superintendent of the Moscow Educational District to allow the congress to meet in one of the university's buildings. The Moscow Legal Society would determine whom to allow to attend and would send them passes.[49]

The "first congress," attended by 228 lawyers, met from June 5 through 8, 1875, at Moscow University.[50] The program was that of a typical professional convention. Well-known scholars and practitioners delivered papers which were discussed by the participants. The speakers, nonetheless, could not—and did not attempt to—separate the practice of law from the effect of legislation upon the law. They advised the government not only in legislative matters, but also about the publication of the revised and supplemented *Code of Russian Laws* scheduled for the following year.[51]

Because of this congress, and because of the independent expressions and activities of members of the Moscow Legal Society in the 1880s and 1890s, the Tsarist government abolished the society in 1899. Among its members had been some of Russia's most prestigious and popular lawyers and university law professors. The last chairman of the society was, for instance, S. A. Muromtsev who was later elected president of the First State Duma in 1906.[52]

After the closing of the Moscow Legal Society, the St. Petersburg Legal Society (founded 1877) became the organizing center for the legal profession. Focusing more on the practical application of the law than its predecessor, this society combined many jurists in the Tsarist administration as well as lawyers and university scholars in St. Petersburg. Among its most famous members were A. F. Koni and K. K. Arsenev. It also published the leading legal journals, under a variety of titles, the best known of which was *Vestnik prava* beginning in 1907. Time and again it attempted to obtain permission from the Minister of Education to convene a second congress of Russian lawyers, but the Ministry of Education always rejected the petition on the

49. *Pervyi s"ezd,* 2-3.
50. *Pervyi s"ezd,* 17-24 is a list of those present.
51. *Pervyi s"ezd,* 49-59.
52. "Iuridicheskoe obshchestvo," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 4/d: 914.

ground that such a congress was "inopportune."[53] The St. Petersburg Legal Society also supplied the Duma and the State Council with some of their most gifted orators and legal minds between 1906 and 1917. But, lawyers never succeeded in forming a permanent national corporate body in Russia.

The medical profession used the same devices in trying to organize a national professional association. Utilizing a variety of practical and scholarly societies as bases for contact and for publishing scholarly articles and news of the various groups' activities, the medical specialists maintained some awareness of the events in the profession outside the geographic area of their own society. The more prestigious of these, most of which were located in Moscow University with its large medical staff and advanced facilities, became focal points for medical specialists throughout Russia. They sponsored periodicals serving the entire medical profession's readership and provided news about the activities of the various societies. Besides the seven scholarly medical societies within Russian universities noted above, many "societies of Russian doctors" existed in Russian cities without universities. The author of one organizational survey in 1897 counted more than 60 societies in some 57 cities in the Russian Empire, including Finland.[54]

Russian doctors also had an additional set of professional relationships upon which to build national unity. The Zemstvo Statue of January 1, 1864, created zemstvo institutions empowered to build hospitals and clinics, establish pharmacies, and untertake other medical aid for the population. Once doctors were employed to staff these medical institutions, the zemstvo in a province would convene a "congress of zemstvo doctors," to plan measures to deal with a particular threat to health such as an outbreak of cholera or the plague.[55]

With the rapid expansion of zemstvo medical facilities and diversification of types of medical care, the zemstvos began employing doctors with a wide variety of specialties. When universities were located near zemstvo clinics, zemstvo doctors began participating also in the scholarly medical societies. This link is particularly clear in the case of doctors working in psychiatric wards of zemstvo hospitals and participating in the Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists in Moscow and Kazan Universities.[56]

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53. *Ibid. Iuridicheskoe obshchestvo pri Imperatorskom S.-Peterburgskom Universitete za dvadtsat' piat' let (1877–1902)* (St. Petersburg, 1902), 49–59 for efforts to unite Russian jurists; 113–164 for list of members; *S.-Peterburgskoe iuridicheskoe obshechstvo (1877–1887)* (St. Petersburg, 1887), various pagination.
54. "Obshchestva meditsinskiia v Rossii," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 42: 621.
55. For instance, the zemstvo doctors in Chernigov Province held a "congress" in 1878 to prepare mesasures to combat the outbreak of the plague. *Zemskii sbornik Chernigovskoi gubernii* (Chernigov, 1879).
56. V. I. Iakovenko, "Obzor deiatel'nosti vsekh Zemstv po prizreniiu dushevno-bol'nykh so vremeni peredachi im bol'nits Prikazami Obshchestvennago Prizreniia," *Arkhiv psikhiatrii, neirologii i sudebnoi psikhopatologii,* Vol. XXIX, no. 2 (1897), 1–84. Pages 13–62 contain a chronological list of activities of all zemstvos concerning psychiatric care. These data demonstrate clearly that the zemstvos hired large numbers of medical personnel to treat the mentally ill in zemstvo hospitals or in other facilities.

The unification of zemstvo doctors outside Moscow Province, zemstvo doctors in Moscow and professors in medical schools produced the first national association of doctors in Moscow in 1882: The Russian Surgical Society in Memory of N. I. Pirogov, the late professor of medicine at Moscow University. Holding conferences every two years, beginning in 1885, and publishing its papers, the Pirogov Society escaped the prohibitions that the Minister of Education imposed upon the legal societies after their first meeting in 1875. Russian doctors bolstered their international prestige by hosting the XII International Congress of Doctors in Moscow in 1897.[57] The Pirogov Society even survived to experience the Bolshevik Revolution.

The last of the three groups under consideration to form a corporate organization were the Russian engineers. They, too, organized themselves by combining government-chartered societies and groups utilizing higher educational institutions. Among the most important early societies was the society of technologists. Formed in 1884, it sought to locate jobs for technicians, provide support for needy members and their families, increase cooperation between factory owners and engineers, and to cooperate to solve technical problems. It began publishing a journal in 1894, and by 1897 had acquired 1,032 members and a capital fund of 107,100 rubles.[58]

By 1910 nine major societies had been formed, which had a collective membership of 6,520 persons by 1914. In 1915 the famous Russian geochemist V. I. Vernadsky succeeded in founding the Commission for the Study of Scientific-Productive Forces within the Russian Academy of Sciences as forum for cooperation between scientists and engineers.[59] However, not until May 1917, after the fall of the monarchy, did the Russian engineers finally succeed in establishing a national organization, the All-Russian Union of Engineers.[60]

Soviet Policies:

The Bolsheviks wanted to impose a social revolution that would have swept away the privileged "bourgeois" specialists inherited from the Tsarist period, but they were in desperate need of their skills to defend the revolution against its opponents and to solve the country's myriad problems. Therefore they were forced to seek the temporary support, or at least neutrality, of the professionals. Because they were products of strong central control of the educational institutions and of state employment, Russian professional organizations did not adopt resolutions that constituted frontal attacks on Bolshevik one-party rule. Although the members of professional societies apparently favored in large numbers the Constituent Assembly, rather than the Bolshevik coup d'etat in October 1917, they disagreed about the political role that a professional organization should play in the Soviet state.

57. *Vrach* carried articles in almost every issue about the organization of the conference, government dissatisfaction with it, and its results. See Nancy Frieden, *The Russian Physician* (Princeton, 1981), for the formation and activities of the Pirogov Society. 1885–1905.
58. "Obshchestva," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar,* 42: 611.
59. Bailes, 41. See James McClelland, *Autocrats and Academics: Education, Culture, and Society in Tsarist Russia* (Chicago, 1979), 66–67, 86–90 for the role by Vernadsky.
60. Bailes, 19–20, 42.

The lawyers fared least well during the first years of Bolshevik rule, for they were identified more closely with the old order than were the doctors and engineers. Through Decree Number One on November 24, 1917, some two weeks after the seizure of power, the Bolsheviks abolished all existing judical institutions and the groups of "sworn attorneys" that were tied to them. When the Senate ruled the decree illegal and the Petrograd Bar (soon followed by bars in several other cities) voted it not binding because it was issued by "an incompetent government," the Bolsheviks used the force of the Military-Revolutionary Committee in Petrograd and the Red Guard in Moscow to eliminate them.[61] Since the Petrograd Bar was not formally linked to institutions from the Tsarist period, the Bolsheviks allowed it to exist until November 1918. At that time they occupied the office of the Bar, requested the Executive Council to transfer the Bar's members to a new Bolshevik-created-and-dominated professional body, and permitted the Bar one final meeting of its General Assembly of members to discuss the proposed transfer. Rather than to surrender to Bolshevik control, the General Assembly voted to dissolve the Bar.[62]

The Bolsheviks were more successful in courting the doctors and engineers. Although a doctor or engineer might have worked in a private factory or zemstvo hospital that was nationalized, he continued to perform his same job. He merely worked for a new owner. Despite some open opposition by members of the Pirogov Society and the All-Russian Society of Engineers against the Bolsheviks that led to the death or imprisonment of some individuals, the two societies did not take group action against the new regime. In fact, Bosheviks frequently released members of the Engineers' Society from jail upon petition from the Society.[63]

By the end of the Civil War in 1921, the Bolsheviks had broken up some professional organizations or transferred their members to Party-controlled groups and had established working relationships with others. During the New Economic Policy (NEP) from 1921 to 1928, the Party made even greater efforts to reintegrate the existing supply of professionals into the economy to help recover from the disasters of seven preceeding years of war, revolution and Civil War. Industrial output in Russia in 1921 had fallen far below its prewar level of 1914; famine and cholera epidemics ravaged the countryside; fields were neither planted nor harvested; factories sat idle, oil was poured over their machinery to prevent rust.[64] Turning to the technicians and restoring for them some of their former privileges, the Bosheviks allowed these specialists (whom they called *spetsy*) to resume their practices, re-employed those with technical skills in managerial roles in factories, and paid them a wage out of proportion to that enjoyed by lesser skilled workers. To supplement the insufficient domestic supply of professionals, the Bolsheviks appealed abroad for foreign specialists and skilled workers to come to Russia. The government offered to hire them directly for a wage and to grant concessions to foreign private enterprises that would send their own professionals to Russia. It also granted concessions of land and factories to

61. Kucherov, 314–15.
62. Kucherov, 315–16.
63. Bailes, 22–25 discusses the political attitudes of the engineers.
64. See Antony Sutton, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1917 to 1930* (Stanford, 1968), 344–45.

foreign skilled workers wishing, for reasons of political sympathy, to plant permanent colonies in Russia.[65]

The Soviet regime simultaneously expanded the higher educational system it inherited from the Tsar and Provisional Government and rapidly trained new cadres of loyal specialists to replace the bourgeois *spetsy* and foreign concessionnaires after termination of the temporary relationship with each. The government removed restrictions upon social classes for admission to the universities, and it opened fifteen new universities in 1918/9, almost all of which were in Central Asia, Siberia and other areas inhabited by national minority groups. By 1925, the Soviet Union (as its name had become) had 26 universities.[66] The majority of the professors in the universities were those who had taught under the Tsarist and Provisional Government. Now, as "bourgeois intelligentsia," they were training the new proletarian intelligentsia.

In preparation for the industrialization drive and purges of the First Five Year Plan of 1929–1933, the Party Central Committee made radical changes in the higher educational system to produce the new professionals it would need. First, it placed the technical institutes under the control of industry which then decided to narrow the training for the various professions. A particular type of engineer was to be trained to perform only those tasks that fell clearly within his area and would study no peripheral subjects. Second, it divided institutes and universities into their component departments, each of which was then named a separate higher educational institution. As a result of this subdivision, and of some new construction, the number of higher educational institutions rose from 152 in academic year 1929/30 to 537 in 1930/31.[67] To complement training of specialists, the regime authorized the creation of higher educational institutes *within the factory* in 1931. Each was authorized to grant the title of "engineer" to its best graduates.[68]

At the same time, the Soviet government began to purge the foreign and old bourgeois *spetsy* and the teaching staff of the higher educational institutions. "Bourgeois" professors had either to conform to the new arrangement or were dismissed from their positions. Areas formerly worked by foreign concessionnaires were now placed under government bureaucrats for management. The police initiated mass arrests of the most highly skilled and highly educated engineers. Beginning with the trial of 50 mining engineers in the Shakhta Affair of 1928, the terror against the foreign and old Russian specialists grew by 1930 to the point where perhaps more than half of the 10,000 degreed construction engineers were arrested and accused of plotting to overthrow the Soviet government. The show trial of this "Industrial Party" in 1930, fea-

65. A list of foreign concessions is in *ibid.*, Part I; see also Charles Timberlake, "Russian-American Contacts, 1917–1937," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 61, no. 4 (October, 1970), 217–21; "Autonomous Industrial Colony 'Kuzbas,'" in *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, Vol. 2 (Gulf Breeze, Florida, 1976), 174–77.

66. A. E. Ivanov, "Universitety," *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia entsiklopediia*, Vol. 14 (Moscow, 1973), column 821.

67. Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921–1934* (Cambridge, 1979), 189–93.

68. Fitzpatrick, 198–205.

tured eight of the country's leading technical experts from the most prestigious of the old technical institutes and some of whom also held important government positions.[69] Stalin was intent on erasing the modicum of Tsarist professionalism which led to professional autonomy during the Provisional Government and the first decade of Bolshevik rule. Although Stalin had to retreat from outright attack upon the technical elite in 1931, he had done the engineering profession and the institutions that trained technologists irreparable damage which adversely affected the Soviet Union's ability to compete against Germany in World War II.

In order to impose social revolution, the Bolsheviks attacked the source of privilege that the professionals enjoyed under the Tsar. They undermined the universities to weaken the remaining opposition therein and fostered the training of new cadres in the special institutes. They favored technical skills over the humanities and liberal arts. The Bolsheviks sought to destroy the vestiges of professional autonomy and loyalty to professional standards and replaced the "bourgeois" professionals with new cadres, loyal to the regime which provided upward social mobility. As the higher educational institutions had been an arm of the state and the professionals the state's servants in the Tsarist period, so the Bolsheviks returned institutions and individuals to that status. But, even during the Soviet period, this triangular relationship did not follow an unbroken line of development.

With political affiliation and class origin more important than professional competence, one can hardly apply to Soviet society the usual analytical devices used by Western sociologists to study "professionalization." University faculties were in chaos, and professional associations were not formed voluntarily by workers. A professional was forced to belong to the appropriate trade union, and purges of the old *spetsy* on charges of sabotage and counterrevolution removed most senior professionals. One of the key differences between Russia and Western Europe in the relationship between state, higher education, and the professions has been and remains the weakness or absence of powerful professional organizations.

69. Kendall Bailes, "The Politics of Technology: Stalin and Technocratic Thinking Among Soviet Engineers," *The American Historical Review*, 79 (1974), 446–47.